

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2089

S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 2528

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY FROM SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-EXEMPT

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH NYERERE

1. AFTER TEN MINUTES GENERAL CONVERSATION IN GROUP WHICH INCLUDED FORMIN AND OTHERS, I SPOKE ALONE WITH NYERERE FOR ONE HOUR ON THE BASIS OF MY TALKING POINTS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR INSTRUCTIONS (STATE 171131) I SPOKE OF POSSIBILITY OF YOUR TRAVELING TO AFRICA IN MORE GENERAL TERMS BUT FELT THAT IT HAD TO BE MENTIONED AS INDICATION OUR DETERMINATION PROCEED.

2. NYERERE RESPONDED BY TALKING FIRST ABOUT NAMIBIA WHICH HE CONSIDERS A MORE STRAIGHTFORWARD ISSUE. SITE IS MORE IMMEDIATE HOPE BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA CAN CONTROL THAT SITUATION WHICH IS NOT THE CASE IN RHODESIA. HE SAW NO OBJECTION TO GENEVA AS A SITE. IN FACT HE SAW SOME ADVANTAGES BECAUSE IT IS ALSO A HEADQUARTERS OF THE UN. ON THE OTHER HAND HE EXPLICITLY SAID IF A SOLUTION CAN BE ACHIEVED HE DOES NOT SEE UN PARTICIPATION AS SINE QUA NON.

3. TANZANIA SUPPORTS SWAPO AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO BUT IT HAS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT CAN LEAD. EVEN THOUGH IT WILL PROBABLY BECOME THE DOMINANT PARTY IT HAS TO ACCEPT OTHER VIABLE ELEMENTS IN NAMIBIA. (HE NOTED THAT HE HAD VAINLY GIVEN SAME ADVICE TO MPLA). IN PART HE SEES SWAPO HARDLINE AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM WHICH, IF IT CONTINUES, WILL MAKE IT UNREPRESENTATIVE AND ENDANGER THE FUTURE STABILITY OF NAMIBIA. SWAPO HAS TO GET OVER ITS PSYCHOL-

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OGICAL PROBLEM BECAUSE IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT SOUTH AFRICA

TO PERMIT THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER ELEMENTS PARTICIPATING IN CONFERENCE.

4. MOVING VENUE AND ENLARGING THE PARTICIPATION WILL INEVITABLY CHANGE THE NATURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN NYERERE'S OPINION. HOWEVER WHETHER SWAPO CONSIDERS IT SOMETHING DIFFERENT WHILE SAG CONSIDERS IT EXTENSION OF EXISTING CONFERENCE MAKES NO DIFFERENCE AS LONG AS IT OCCURS.

5. I REFERRED TO KAUNDA'S REMARKS TO ME (LUSAKA 1776) AND TO SOUNDINGS BY OTHERS WHICH INDICATED THAT SWAPO WAS STILL INSISTING ON ITS PREVIOUS CONDITIONS. I SAID THAT IF WE WERE TO MAKE PROGRESS WE SHOULD NOT BE ENCUMBERED BY AGING POLITICAL BAGGAGE. NYERERE AGREED EMPHATICALLY, ADDING THAT IF IT APPEARED POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES UNDER REASONABLE TERMS SWAPO SHOULD NOT BE SETTING UP CONDITIONS AIMED MORE AT STRENGTHENING ITSELF THAN ESTABLISHING NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

6. I THEN ASKED, IF USG ASSUMES ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO EXERT PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HE AND OTHERS ASSUME THEIRS REGARDING SWAPO. WITHOUT HESITATION HE SAID THEY WOULD AND HE EXPECTS SWAPO WOULD DROP UNREADISTIC DEMANDS. HE REITERATED THAT SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA HAD ASSURED HIM SWAPO WOULD PARTICIPATE AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATION OF OTHERS IF VENUE CHANGED.

7. TURNING TO RHODESIA HE PREFACED HIS REACTIONS WITH SPECULATION THAT, IF UK HAD CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN 1975, EVEN WITHOUT SMITH, THE COMPLICATING ELEMENT OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A FACTOR AS IT IS NOW. SUCH A CONFERENCE IS FOR POLITICAL LEADERS AND THERE WAS NO "THIRD FORCE" THEN.

8. NOW THERE ARE TWO POLITICAL GROUPS BOTH OF WHICH ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE MAJORITY RULE BUT NOT WITH EACH OTHER. NYERERE STATED THAT THERE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A SINGLE PARTY. BUT THE TWO GROUPS SHOULD NEGOTIATE MAJORITY RULE TOGETHER - THEY CAN SPLIT AFTERWARDS. IF THEY CAN GET TOGETHER AT LEAST FOR THIS PURPOSE, THERE WILL BE A SHORTER PERIOD OF WARFARE. IF THEY CANNOT, INEVITABLY "AS THE SECRETARY SAID, THE MEN WITH THE GUNS" WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE AND THERE WILL BE ANOTHER FRELIMO, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH OBVIOUSLY MAKES NYERERE UNEASY. EVEN NOW, HE SAID, EACH POLITICAL

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GROUP SEEKS ITS OWN ARMY.

9. NYERERE EMPHASIZED THAT IF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS LINKED WITH THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM. IF NOT, RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM WILL BE DIFFICULT. WITHOUT STRONG LEADERSHIP ON POLITICAL LEVEL THE "BOYS" MIGHT CONTINUE FIGHTING. IN SUCH A SITUATION EVEN A QUICK SOLUTION MIGHT TURNOUT TO BE UNSUCCESSFUL. REGARDING TIME-FRAME FOR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, NYERERE SAID THAT

IF THERE IS ASSURANCE OF MAJORITY RULE, "TWO YEARS IS NOTHING".

10. I TOLD NYERERE THAT WE RECOGNIZE THIS PROBLEM BUT I EMPHASIZED THAT IF WE SEARCH FOR A PERFECT SOLUTION WE MIGHT SET BACK A TIME-TABLE AND THUS OUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. NYERERE AGREED AND SPECIFICALLY ENDORSED YOUR THESIS THAT WE MUST MOVE RAPIDLY. WHEN I ASKED IF THIS PROBLEM MIGHT NOT PROVE LESS ACUTE IF FACED WITH PROSPECT OF REAL PROGRESS, NYERERE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW.

11. I SAID THAT MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT NYERERE WAS HOPEFUL ON NAMIBIA AND PESSIMISTIC ON RHODESIA. DID HE THINK THEN THAT WE SHOULD NOT PROCEED ON BOTH. "NO - PUSH ON" WAS HIS IMMEDIATE RESPONSE.

12. I THEN ASKED NYERERE, AS AGREED IN MY TALKING POINTS, IF HE THOUGHT I SHOULD SEE MACHEL WITH WHOM WE HAD NOT HAD DIRECT CONTACT ON THESE QUESTIONS. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK IT WAS NECESSARY. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FOUR PRESIDENTS HE WAS IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH OTHER THREE. I TOLD HIM THAT I UNDERSTOOD THEY WOULD ALL BE IN ZAMBIA FOR OFFICIAL OPENING OF TANZAM RAILROAD JULY 14. HE SAID THAT MACHEL WOULD NOT BE THERE BUT HE COULD FIND OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH HIM.

13. COMMENT: EVEN THOUGH NYERERE WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS IN RHODESIA WE DO HAVE HIS SUPPORT TO PROCEED ON OUR PRESENT COURSE. I HAD THE DEFINITE FEELING THAT HE IS RETREATING FROM THE "THIRD FORCE" AND IS NOW MORE INTERESTED IN ACHIEVING SOME SORT OF RECONCILIATION AMONG THE POLITICAL LEADERS. I SUSPECT THIS DEVELOPMENT IS IN PART DUE TO LACK OF SUCCESS IN DEVELOPING POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FROM AMONG FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND HIS PERHAPS BELATED CONCERN THAT HE HAS BEEN SUPPORTING CONCEPT WHICH COULD BECOME ANOTHER KIND OF FRELIMO.

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FACT THAT MACHEL WILL NOT BE IN ZAMBIA JULY 14 MAY IN FACT GIVE MORE MODERATE KHAMA, KAUNDA AND NYERERE OPPORTUNITY TO MAP THEIR OWN STRATEGY AND TACTICS. MACHEL COULD RESIST THEM BUT WOULD BE OPEN TO CHARGES OF STIMULATING VIOLENCE AND ULTIMATELY ENCOURAGING OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. MOBUTO WILL ALSO BE IN ZAMBIA JULY 14 AND ALTHOUGH I WILL NOT BRIEF HIM SO THOROUGHLY WHEN I SEE HIM TOMORROW, I WILL SUGGEST THAT HE URGE SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

SINCE HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY LEARN OF IT I INFORMED NYERERE THAT I WILL SEE NKOMO WHEN I TRANSIT LUSAKA TOMORROW.  
SPAIN

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